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be kept in a locked box purchased from a trade store), and it is never displayed except when it is being used in some economic transaction. The following are the native names and value in shillings for the different kinds of *tsera*:

Muning: the white *tsera* made at Laummasong; *two* arm lengths are worth five shillings.

Atok: red and white *tsera* mixed, *one* arm length worth five shillings.

Lolul: a half of a unit of *Atok*.

Biäl: red *tsera*, *one* arm length worth five shillings.

Unless otherwise indicated, when the term *tsera* is used, either *atok* or *biäl* is meant. *Muning* is regarded as of little value and if used double the amount of the *atok* or *biäl* is required.

All objects which are sold have a value in terms of *tsera*. The following is a scale of prices:

	Tsera
Large *kepkep* (breast ornament) worn by men	2
Small *kepkep* (breast ornament) worn by women	1
Armband (*biuk*), five of them made of trochus shell and worn at one time by men and women	½
Spear	2
Canoe	4 to 6
Fishing-nets	2
Drum	1
Shark-catching outfit	1½
Pigs—the price varies according to size and sex:	
Large male pig	2 to 4
Female pig	5 to 10

The prices for pigs are not as set as those for the objects listed above. A rich person might pay five *tsera* for a pig for which another man would pay four. The more he pays the more prestige the buyer has. Everyone then knows he is a rich man. On the other hand, the owner of the pig would gain prestige if he sold it for four *tsera* when he might have received five. There is never any bargaining, and the concept of a bargain is unknown in native trade. Most objects have

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435 556 a scale of value which does not vary, but in the case of pigs, where there is variation, the social incentive is not to pay the least amount, but rather to pay the biggest price and increase one's prestige thereby.

437 527 Pigs are the most usual objects of trade, and so we will consider their buying and selling in detail. They are almost always purchased in connection with some ritual feast—mortuary, marriage, etc. If it is a very large ritual feast, such as a *malanggan* one, preparations are begun a long time in advance. Perhaps ten months before the rite a preliminary feast will be held to make the arrangements. At this time the buyers and sellers of pigs for the future feast are designated. The man who will buy a pig gives a bundle of baked sago to the man who will later sell it to him. But this does not happen haphazardly at the feast, and for a week before one such feast which I witnessed the men were busy every evening discussing the details of the arrangements.

437 Then months later, when the ritual feast is held, the pigs are there and payment is made for them after the feast is over. When the men come out of the cemetery, where most feasts are held, the sale is concluded before all the men and women of the community assembled in the open compound. The man making the payment holds up a string of *tsera* and makes a short speech, naming the person to whom he is paying it. The *tsera* is held outstretched, one man at each end, so that everyone can see the amount. It is then handed over to the man or woman who sold the pig. Payments for all objects, such as fishing-nets, ornaments, etc., are always made in public in this manner, for which the natives give two reasons. First, everyone has witnessed the transaction and seen that it is all right; secondly, everyone knows what has been paid for the object, and should the owner want to resell it, he must get the same amount. It is a registration of the transaction. There is thus no buying or selling for profit.

432 Objects are always resold for exactly what they cost, and

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had to borrow the *tsera* from his clan relatives to pay Garrili for the pig. When the feast was held, Kadecka was so ashamed of his hasty action that he stayed in the house most of the time, but all of his relatives and many other people from the village, as well as Garrili, were there. The latter stood up and made a speech, telling how he had been asked by Kadecka for the pig, remarking that he had planned to bring it when Kadecka's old mother died, but Kadecka had asked for it, and so here it was. Then one by one the important old men made speeches condemning Kadecka's action. They asked sternly why Kadecka did not wait until his mother died. He made no defence for his inexcusable action.

The whole affair caused a great deal of gossip, and public opinion was unanimous in condemning Kadecka. A week later he "signed on" when a recruiter for native labour came through the village, and no one expressed any regret when he left. It was obviously an escape from an intolerable social position.

Besides pigs, other objects, such as ornaments, spears, drums, and canoes, are sold for set prices which never vary, and the payments are made in public. These objects, however, do not form the ordinary objects of trade; first, because sometimes they are inherited, and, secondly, because one such object, like an ornament, a drum, a spear, lasts a lifetime. Pigs, on the other hand, are constantly being sold because they are eaten continually at ritual feasts.

PAYMENTS FOR SERVICES

It is obvious that one cannot accumulate wealth through trading in pigs or any other objects, for there is no profit. But the rendering of services, magical or otherwise, that is another story. The possession of magic is the most important source of wealth. Among these people magic is all powerful

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and is used all the time. If you want to catch a woman or pig, the proper magic must be made. If you want to go on a shark-fishing expedition, or to cause the death of your enemy, again the proper magic must be made. What is even more important, from the economic point of view, is that magic is a private possession in the hands of the few, and is performed only for payment. The price for the performance of the various kinds of magic is as follows:

	Tsera
War magic	10
Black magic	10
Taro magic	1
Magic to detect black magician	2
Rain magic	2 to 4
Love magic	½ to 1
Abortive magic	½ to 1
Magic over dog to catch pig	2 to 4
Magic over new *uben* (fishing-net)	½
Magic to make a pig fat	½

The power of the magic lies in the spell, which the magician guards closely. The rite is performed openly for anyone to see, but the spell is muttered so that no one else can learn it. When I received magical spells from informants they had always to be assured of complete privacy, and often a magician would look closely around the vicinity of the house to make sure that no one was within hearing distance. The knowledge of the spells is a source of income, and should the knowledge become widespread the income would dwindle.

The rule for the acquirement of magical knowledge is that it comes from the maternal uncle, but as a matter of actual practice—from accounts of all the magicians questioned—it was received more frequently from the father, and sometimes the mother. The magician, when quite old, will teach his maternal nephew or son the spell, and the latter makes a payment for it. This initial cost is soon covered by a few performances, and after that there is pure profit, and a more

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saying that his clan relatives from Tabar have assisted him very materially in these rites. One long piece of *tsera*, several units, is given to a Tabar man in payment for a pig. After this the bundles of taro are opened and the two pigs cut up and distributed.

This feast marks the final payment of *tsera*. Though most of it is given to Palou, it is considered as being given also to Towi and Tukan, and it is understood that Palou will distribute it to them. Palou is the important old man of the Sinpop clan, and Tukan is his maternal nephew, and hence also of his clan. Towi is married to a Sinpop woman, and has a claim on the payment because his son, who died some years ago, was Sinpop, and if alive would be part-owner of the *malanggan* and receiver of part of the payment. Towi, his father, now acts as a sort of deputy for him. Of course, Towi's wife is Sinpop too, but in discussing it the natives do not mention her, but stress the fact that it is for the son that Towi is acting.

The total payment is 180 *tsera*, besides much tobacco and many loin-cloths. At the native rate of exchange, one *tsera* equalling five shillings, this is equal to £45 in Australian currency, or $225. Of this 140 *tsera* is paid to Palou of Penguli, while the remainder is paid to Tabar people who contributed pigs and helped in other ways. At Logagon Palou immediately distributes thirty of the *tsera* to thirteen people from Penguli, men and women who have helped him in the preparations. The individual payments range from one to five. Palou gives thirty more *tsera* to his own three children, to a maternal niece (sister's daughter), and to another sister's daughter's daughter. These five recipients of *tsera* are all members of the Sinpop clan. The remainder is supposed to belong to Palou, Towi, and Tukan.

After Palou has made the distribution at Logagon, Tukan and a few others are cross because they do not think he has paid them adequately. The dissatisfaction is felt particularly

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the payments are ritually made to the owners of the pigs which were consumed at the feast, to the dancers, and to those who carried the corpse to the grave. In each case it is a close clan relative, a son, or mother's sister's son, a mother, or a mother's brother who makes the payments. It is never the surviving consort. While one person, such as a son, is considered responsible for the feast, he is assisted by other members of his clan (which is the same as that of the dead person). At the funeral of the old woman, Maling, there were fifteen pigs, all contributed, or rather paid for, by the members of her clan. Her mother's sister's son contributed three, and each one of the other clan relatives one. Most of these pigs were purchased from other people, regardless of clan or moiety, and it was to these people that the payments were made. The man making the payment held up a piece of *tsera* (shell currency) and called out the name of the man or woman to whom he was paying it and mentioned also what the payment was for. At another funeral there were ten pigs and a total payment of 39 *tsera* made for them, 32 out of the 39 being paid by clan relatives of the dead person. The remaining 7 were paid by the following three people, her husband, the chief (whose father was of the same clan as the dead woman), and another man who was of the same moiety, but of a different clan from the dead woman. This man was unmarried and most of his clan relatives were dead. He was a classificatory brother of the dead woman and she had frequently given him food. His contribution now of two *tsera* for a small pig was considered as a reciprocal gift to her. The general rule is that clan relatives pay for all the pigs and services. The exceptions just noted merely indicate that this primitive society is, like all societies, flexible in carrying out its rules.

The officiating clan relative also makes the payment to the dancers and pall-bearers.

The taro for the feast is contributed by all the women of the hamlet and the neighbouring hamlets, the clan relatives bringing a little bit more than the others, but in the matter of taro there is no fine distinction drawn as in the case of payment for pigs. Every woman brings the taro from her garden, and it involves no question of payment. Taro is never sold on any occasion, but pigs are a common object of trade.